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Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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4 May 1984

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JOINT VENTURE FORMED WITH BRAZILIAN, BELGIAN OIL FIRMS

Agreement Signed in Luanda

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 29 Mar 84 p 3

[Text] A new and important step in the oil sector was taken yesterday with the signing in Luanda of the agreement that creates the Petroleum Services Company of Angola-UEM (ESPA) which will operate in Bloc-4 of the Angolan Basin in joint action between the National Fuel Corporation of Angola (SONANGOL) the PETROBRAS International Corporation (BRASPETRO) and PETROFINA.

The new company is intended above all to train Angolan personnel in order to insure national oil operations both offshore and onshore, declared the director general of SONANGOL, Herminio Escorcio, on that occasion.

Bloc-4 is regarded as the great Angolan oil reserve and for that reason in a first phase it was considered that its completely national exploitation would be preferable; however, a more in-depth analysis made it possible to arrive at the conclusion that the creation of a joint venture would be more desirable for the interests of the country, thus the conclusion of the agreement signed yesterday.

The creation of ESPA-UEM (Joint Economic Unit) is the result of 3 years of various discussions that led to the sharing of production, 51 percent belonging to SONANGOL and the remaining 49 percent divided in equal parts between BRASPETRO (Brasil) and PETROFINA (Belgium).

This company is to operate under that system for 15 years after which time it will become completely national since it is expected that by that time it will have been possible to train the high and middle-level Angolan technicians who can insure its operation.

For that purpose an agreement (already in effect) has been concluded with the University of Angola, so that students beginning in the third year can opt for one of the petroleum-related specialties, and from that point on receive a domestic study scholarship.

This broad action in training national cadres is part of the "pro-cadres" program provided in the agreement creating the company and will be completely financed by the foreign side. Envisaged is the training of geologists, geophysicists, drilling engineers, production engineers, drilling fluid reservoir engineers, mechanical and electro-technical engineers, as well as a considerable range of middle-level personnel.

Signing the aforementioned agreement, in addition to the director general of SONANGOL, Herminio Escorcio, were the president of BRASPETRO, Shigeaki Ueki and the vice president of PETROFINA, Jean Pierre Amory, both of whom came especially for that purpose. The ceremony was attended by the Brazilian ambassador accredited to Angola in addition to various officials of the companies involved.

Speaking at the conclusion of the ceremony, Herminio Escorcio declared that the new company will work on the prospecting and possible production of oil in Bloc-4, in addition to intensifying the training of Angolan cadres, some of whom, it is expected, we will have within 6 years.

He also stressed the commitments of both Brazil and Belgium to investments in Angola at a time when the country is the target of various destabilizing actions by the racists and puppet bands.

The representatives of the foreign companies there voiced their thanks, expressing their willingness to see the good relations they already have with the national fuel concessionaire, SONANGOL, strengthened.

BRASPETRO President Comments

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 30 Mar 84 p 16

[Victor Silva report of interview with BRASPETRO president Shigeaki Ueki in Luanda on 29 March]

[Text] A little behind the time set the night before, yesterday morning we were in one of the suites of the new Hotel Presidente to interview a Brazilian industrialist, with a Japanized manner stemming from his ancestry. He is a middle-aged man of practical and objective speech who arrived in Angola the day before yesterday and left it yesterday but not without first signing a contract of inestimable value--principally to our country--which established the Petroleum Services Company of Angola-Joint Economic Unit (ESPA), the embryo of national independence in this important branch of hydrocarbons.

This man, his actual name being Shigeaki Ueki, is the president of BRASPETRO, the Brazilian company that sponsors the popular soap opera "Cabolca," which takes us to Vila da Mata and Pau D'Alhos on Thursdays and Sundays via the television screens in our homes, and which also brought us the soccer trainer Pavao (of the Petro squad) who was then sent back as if our country were so overloaded with cadres!

"Are BRASPETRO and PETROBRAS the same thing?" we asked.

"It's all the same thing. PETROBRAS is an international petroleum company that operates in the area of exploration, production, transportation, marketing and refining of petroleum, branches in which it operates directly. At the same time, it has six subsidiary companies which are wholly owned by it."

Shigeaki Ueki then went on to explain the "world" of PETROBRAS, with its various companies which encompass branches ranging from international trade to fertilizers, chemical products and oil distribution in Brazil. The PETROBRAS system also has tentacles in more than 50 companies in both Brazil and foreign countries, which ranks it among the 50 biggest companies in the world, including U.S. companies not counting the latter, it ranks seventh in the world in addition to being the largest in the Southern Hemisphere.

It has a total of 70,000 workers, 8,000 of whom are upper-level employees, and handles sums amounting to \$20 billion a year.

One might say that BRASPETRO is PETROBRAS' arm abroad, and it has already been working in Angola for 4 years as a partner of SONANGOL. Until Wednesday, its presence was felt only in Bloc-2 of the national basin, which it operated in partnership with SONANGOL, Texaco and TOTAL "where we already have oil production and new fields under development."

However, since the day before yesterday, BRASPETRO together with SONANGOL and PETROFINA make up the new joint petroleum operation company which will operate in Bloc-4, regarded as the principal hydrocarbons reserve in Angola.

The BRASPETRO president informed us in that regard that "our geologists and those of SONANGOL and PETROFINA believe Bloc-4 has great potential; however, no matter how favorable the geologic conditions may be, only after drilling will we know if there will be oil or not.

"In any case, the signing of the contract which is going to permit exploration is quite a significant fact.

"For the first time, there will not be one single foreign company as an operator in Angola. The ESPA has been formed and it obviously will have preponderant Angolan participation, which is certainly a pioneering method."

The creation of this company, which is the result of a directive from the Special Party Congress for the sector, is aimed above all at a broad program of training of national middle and upper-level cadres so that in 15 years it will become a state economic unit.

In this regard, BRASPETRO's role will be predominant because of the language factor; hence, the "pro-cadres" program is already underway, envisaging the training in Angola of an average of 100 upper-level technicians in a joint action with the university and SONANGOL.

These actions by BRASPETRO follow the results it has achieved in Bloc-2, where current production is 13,000 barrels, a figure that will increase considerably with the development of the new fields already discovered.

Referring to cooperation with SONANGOL, Shigeaki Ueki said it is one of the best, underscoring that "we do not have any secrets from SONANGOL in our company" after enumerating the various types of support it has given the Angolan company.

"Our presence in Angola is a little different from that of the other foreign companies. Of course we are seeking economic gains but at the same time we are seeking to be a part of Angolan hopes, hence our participation in the area of sports, culture, etc."

With regard to the position of his company in Brazil, our interviewee said: "By the fact that we are a company formed to compete in the foreign market, we export more than 200,000 barrels of oil and byproducts to 14 African countries, keeping up a significant activity in the South Atlantic.

"With the export of petrochemical products alone, we make more than \$1 billion; this year we will begin to export fertilizers, which will represent 20 percent of Brazilian exports."

Asked if the use of alcohol as the source of energy would not hurt his company's business, Shigeaki Ueki declared that "PETROBRAS is active in the alcohol program though it does not produce it."

At the present time, there are more than 1 million vehicles running on alcohol, the production of which already amounts to more than 150,000 barrels a day, and in the opinion of our interviewee, it can already be considered as an alternative to petroleum.

Finally, we wanted to learn his opinion about current oil prices, to which the president of BRASPETRO replied:

"We are importers and for that reason we cannot consider it cheap. However, in view of the growing cost, we believe the current price should prevail for a long time."

And he justifies his opinion by the fact that at the present time world reserves have increased from 640 billion to 740 billion barrels while consumption has decreased from 63 million barrels a day to around 10 million barrels.

"In view of this situation in which there are many reserves and less consumption, there is little possibility of the price increasing."

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CSO: 3442/328

RECENT ACTIVITIES BY POLITICAL PARTIES

MFM Debates Economic Crisis

Antananarivo MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 26 Mar 84 p 2

[Article by J. Rakotonirina]

[Text] Over the weekend (Saturday and Sunday), 170 members of the MFM-MFT [Militants for the Establishment of a Proletarian Regime-Militants for the Realization of the Revolution] from the 19 prefectures in Antananarivo Province and party officials from the local districts, subprefectures, prefectures, and provinces met in the main auditorium at the Antanimena FALDA.

During the meeting, which was to have been held in December 1983 but had to be postponed because of the current economic situation, the MFM members were able to discuss various topical problems, notably those related to the difficulties currently facing the country. And the council had to answer the question which was also the topic for those 2 days of dialogue: "How to build a sovereign state and a developed nation?" (Ahoana no fananganana fanjakana masi-mandidy sy firenena matanjaka?). The answers that were given constitute in fact the MFM's version of solutions to the current economic crisis.

Manandafy Rakotonirina, leader of the MFM and member of the CSR [Supreme Revolutionary Council], summed up the essentials of the MFM's stand during the closing ceremony, which was held yesterday in the presence of numerous members, the members of the Political Bureau, and the officials of related organizations and the National Bureau of the SRMM. First of all, concerning the rumors that Madagascar is going to rejoin the franc zone as a way out of the present difficult situation, the MFM says that no one should regret the fact that we left it even though the country has gone into debt. This is all the more true, says the MFM, in that we would not have been able to achieve what we have managed to build if we had stayed in the franc zone. Moreover, difficulties or not, the basic political option will never be changed because the option of the Malagasy socialist revolution will be carried to its conclusion.

The MFM therefore favors a strengthening of what has been achieved, and as a consequence, it is proposing a genuine 3-year development program concerned primarily with ricegrowing. For 1984, that program will be centered basically on the harnessing of water resources--a permanent problem in agriculture--

through an increase in the number of dams, the improvement and construction of irrigation and drainage canals, and so on. In 1985, improving the yield per hectare (from the current 2 tons to 4 or 5 tons) through the greater use of chemical fertilizers will be the main objective, since the ZEMA and ZEREN fertilizer plants will soon be able to meet the nation's fertilizer needs. And in 1986, yields will continue to be improved, but this time by doubling the number of harvests. We must begin harvesting rice twice a year by using and popularizing a seed that can be harvested in 3 months instead of the 6 months required in the case of traditional seed.

All of this is necessary because the cost of the rice we produce is quite high in relation to the cost of imported rice, and if we want to lower the cost, said CSR member Manandafy Rakotonirina, we must increase production by every means.

The other important point discussed by the council was the mastery of technology. Turnkey factories are convenient; the only problem is that we must master the technology, otherwise we will always be dependent on others. Construction of a factory of that type does not mean that we have succeeded in freeing ourselves of the ties of dependence because we are not gaining control of the laws of the market. In that connection, the unions must not only struggle to increase workers' wages: they must also help the workers and factory employees master those technologies, because training is also a means to development.

In conclusion, CSR member Manandafy Rakotonirina first issued a warning to those trying to undermine national sovereignty by taking advantage of possible discontent. He then issued an appeal to the other parties belonging to the FNDR [National Front for the Defense of the Revolution] and to government officials: "Let us strengthen dialogue," he said. "Let us present the real 'solutions' to the people, let us put a stop to internal conflicts, and let us punish those who should be punished."

Statement by AREMA's Ramambazafy

Antananarivo MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 26 Mar 84 p 2

[Text] Antananarivo--A general meeting of KOPAREMA AINA VI was held last Saturday in the district of Soatsimeloka, subprefecture of Alatsinainiambazaha, prefecture of Antananarivo-Atsimondrano.

Chairwoman Razafindrasoa emphasized in her report that KOPAREMA has 115 members and supplies 417 persons. Other members coming from other revolutionary organizations are also included in the cooperative, said Mrs Razafindrasoa, who added that despite differences of opinion among its members, cooperation has turned out to be satisfactory.

Proof of that, she said, can be seen in the fact that our assets now include a sum of 60,000 Malagasy francs. The coordinator and chairman of the subprefecture of Alatsinainiambazaha, Randriantovosoa, stressed the need to keep a close watch on management as proof of solidarity.

For his part, Ramambazafy Armand, member of the AREMA Political Bureau, pointed out that ensuring supplies is not the sole responsibility of KOPAREMA's members. It is a matter of national interest, and it requires a skillfull organized procedure, he said. Hasty decisions and poorly conceived initiatives are not in order, Ramambazafy continued, because they inevitably result in undue criticism that is generally the source of sickness [as published] and dissension. The solutions to our problems must be found in calm and tolerance, said Armand Ramambazafy, member of the AREMA Political Bureau, as he concluded his remarks.

VONJY Holds Training Seminar

Antananarivo MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 26 Mar 84 pp 2, 5

[Text] The elected representatives belonging to the VITM [Popular Impulse for National Unity] in the prefecture of Antananarivo, who were meeting for a training seminar at Vohibola, devoted all of yesterday to study and dialogue with party leaders concerning their role and duty within each decentralized community. At the opening of the seminar, and before the recommendations made by Radio Celestin, national deputy chairman of the VITM and member of the CSR, to the 200 elected representatives in attendance, Roger Rajoeliso, head of the KITM in the capital, explained the main outlines of the agenda. He also emphasized the various tasks expected of every individual at a time when the country is experiencing a difficult period, especially in the economic area. He said: "This training, which will be followed by other training sessions, is necessary so that we will all be better equipped to do our duty as representatives, both to our fellow citizens and to the nation. We must set an example and, above all, not disappoint those who have placed their confidence in us."

When it was his turn to speak, CSR member Radio Celestin began by recalling the progress made by the VITM since it was founded and especially between the VIP elections in 1977 and the latest legislative elections. He also emphasized the confidence expressed in VONJY [the VITM] by the inhabitants of Antananarivo as noted in the recent elections. Directing his remarks specifically at the elected representatives in his audience, Radio Celestin said: "You were not chosen only by VITM members but also by the people, and your prime duty is to place yourselves at their service." And the CSR member continued: "You will be judged by your actions, your competence, and your loyalty, so be worthy of your membership in the VITM in the electoral districts where you exercise your mandate."

In addition, Deputy Chairman Radio Celestin again reminded his audience of the VITM's support for Didier Ratsiraka during the presidential elections: "We are members of the front and we must work with our partners for the success of the revolution. Let it be known, however, that 'armchair revolutionaries' are not to be found in VONJY: we actively pursue the revolution every day so that justice and equity will prevail," he said.

It should be noted that preparatory meetings preceded yesterday's seminar and that a visit was made earlier to Betafo (Antsirabe) and Miarinarivo by Deputy Odon Rafenoarisoa and Rasolofoson Lilian, chairman of the regional permanent bureau. During that visit, Odon Rafenoarisoa said in particular: "Solidarity,

commitment, and enthusiasm--that is what we need if we want the Malagasy Revolution to achieve tangible results." That theme, incidentally, was repeated by the participants in the Vohibola training seminar in Antananarivo.

AREMA Activities in Toliara

Antananarivo MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 27 Mar 84 p 2

[Text] Toliara (ANTA)--As part of the eighth anniversary of the AREMA revolutionary group, AREMA militants from the prefecture of Toliara I, Ankililoaka, and the prefecture of Toliara II planted Cape peas on a 2-hectare plot of land on Saturday. Noted there in particular were Deputy Rajotse and the local elected representatives.

On that occasion, the chairman of the Toliara II Executive Committee urged the AREMA militants to participate in the Lova national loan.

AREMA militants from the prefecture of Morondava and organizations affiliated with that group have decided to hold a fair, with proceeds to go to the Lova national loan. The fair will be held from 27 April to 7 May.

In Sakataha, SEREMA members received ideological training over the weekend. They also elected a new bureau, with Emahavehaka being reelected as first secretary.

Following profitable exchanges of views on decentralization, democratic centralism, the labor code, and taxation, the seminar for elected representatives, managing directors, and treasurers at the subprefecture level ended in Ampanihy on Saturday.

VSM Seminar

Antananarivo MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 27 Mar 84 p 2

[Text] Toliara (ANTA)--The ideological seminar for militants in the revolutionary movement known as the MONIMA Socialist Group [VSM] officially ended last Saturday. Andre Razafindrabe, the national secretary, thanked all the militants, who had demonstrated self-sacrifice and good will during the work despite the time involved. He went on to say that the VSM feels that despite foreign aid, the country will not be able to overcome its difficulties without national unity. The VSM is combating the enemies of the revolution--those who are diverting supplies. It has decided to conduct an agricultural production drive.

In conclusion, Andre Razafindrabe recalled that cohesion and cooperation are necessary so that we can all face up to the current crisis and the enemies of the revolution. Other movements in the FNDR were also represented at the VSM's 2-day seminar in Toliara.

VITM Celebrates in Mahajanga

Antananarivo MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 27 Mar 84 pp 2, 5

[Article by Jacqueline Rasamimanana]

[Text] Last Saturday 24 March! On the City Hall Esplanade in Mahajanga I! A human flood! Everyone in Majunga was there to attend a big demonstration. Deputy Razafintsalama Bertrand, the candidate elected in the last byelection, wanted to thank all Mahajanga for the confidence shown in him through the massive vote on his behalf. He said: "You made a free choice; you named me to be your spokesman in the ANP [National People's Assembly]. Rest assured that I will do my best, along with my comrades, to be a worthy son of the capital of Boina." He continued: "When the election was over, everyone in Mahajanga--politically mature, well armed ideologically, aware, united, and standing together--was jubilant. No one was thinking any longer about his 'personal color.' And today, we are celebrating; we know how to share our joy." Deputy Razafintsalama B., greatly moved, concluded by saying: "On behalf of VONJY, as a fanatical supporter of Malagasy-style socialism and following the example of the 'fihavanana' inherited from our wise ancestors, I am offering five steers to the entire population to mark this memorable day."

Dr Razanabahiny Marojama, VONJY's national chairman, with Pierre Justin, member of the Political Bureau, and Razafitsimialona Jean de la Croix, member of the Central Committee, at his side, then spoke. He said: "The elections are over. Genuine democracy prevailed, and you were able to vote in freedom, calm, and even serenity. The people were able to express their choice. This proves that Majunga's inhabitants have demonstrated political maturity, deep motivation, and great awareness. Let us bury our hard feelings; let us silence our disagreements and personal ambitions. The only objective now is to work together with your elected representatives and to cooperate with them closely and in unity--the guarantee of and sine qua non condition for our national recovery." CSR member Razanabahiny Marojama then addressed himself to the elected representatives, saying: "You have been elected for all the people, but not for the party that sponsored you. Our country's political, social, and economic development would progress if you could cooperate and work shoulder to shoulder with only one goal: the 'interest of the people.' Show manifest unity in doing your duty, because the country's prosperity and advancement depend above all on the unity of its people."

It should be emphasized that earlier, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the prefecture of Mahajanga I had thanked the deputy on behalf of the entire local council for the steers donated by the VITM.

11798

CSO: 3419/558

OUTCOME OF FISEMARE SEMINAR REPORTED

Antananarivo MADAGASCAR MATIN in French 27 Mar 84 p 2

[Excerpt] "Construction of workers' housing by companies with means; improvement of the social security law; reorganization of the INPF to bring the program it administers into agreement with the revolution; the IMF (International Monetary Fund) is partially responsible for inflation in Madagascar; etc..." Such were, among others, the complaints and findings included in the final resolution of the FISEMARE trade union seminar that ended yesterday afternoon. This trade union movement, which, it should be recalled, is allied with the AKFM, had organized a seminar at Tsarafaritra, at which the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) was represented by one of its leaders, Mrs Anna Lazar Janosne, who is also a member of the Hungarian Trade Union National Council.

Thus, FISEMARE's secretary general, Paul Rabemananjara, who is a member of the AKFM Political Bureau, yesterday remarked that the workers and peasants were contending with difficulty at the present time with the harmful effects of economic conditions. Also, the number of unemployed continues to grow and not even graduates of higher institutions of learning were spared. This was one of the problems that the central committee of this trade union had studied in depth at its meeting, held in tandem with the work of those attending the seminar, which lasted more than a week and took as the subject of its discussion: "FISEMARE, the workers' and peasants' guide in the defense and advent of the Malagasy socialist revolution."

With further regard to this resolution, FISEMARE favors, moreover, revision of the investment law, equality between men and women in public service with respect to both remuneration and social status, and equality of opportunity between students educated in the communist countries and those educated in the West. With regard to state-owned and private companies, FISEMARE calls for the dismissal of those embezzling funds and appearance before a court of justice, installation of unemployment compensation according to the government's means and reorganization of the SMIG (guaranteed minimum inter-professional wage). As for the CNEO (National Center for Workers' Education), this trade union believes that it should be an instrument at the service of the working class for its technological and ideological training.

On the international level, FISEMARE will always support people fighting for their independence, call for the establishment of peace in the Indian Ocean and condemn the installation of American "Pershing" missiles in Europe. It also deplores the maneuvers of the United States in the ILO (International Labor Organization), where it seeks to impose its policies. Finally, FISEMARE vigorously supports the proposal of the last AKFM congress and that of the FSM.

12336

CSO: 3419/555

BRIEFS

MAFM-KTMA PRESS CONFERENCE--Yesterday, at Behoririka, the MAFM/KTMA (Committee of Malagasy Youth and Students) held a press conference concerning preparations for holding an international seminar at Antananarivo to bring youths together from the Indian Ocean islands; in principle, it would take place between 31 August and 5 September of this year. The MAFM, which denies belonging to any political party, will be the promoter of this conference, in which the Maldives, Mauritius, Sri Lanka, Australia, India, etc. will participate. The holding of this meeting has not yet been officially authorized by the government; nevertheless, the leaders of this youth movement, who were born during the events of 1972, hope to have the backing of the government authorities soon. It was indicated yesterday that the son of Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi will attend this seminar, which will deal with several subjects, especially: the disarmament problem, Indian Ocean peace zone, role of international development organizations, preparation of the International Youth Year (which will be celebrated in 1985), etc. Furthermore, with regard specifically to the MAFM/KTMA, one of its organizers, Benjamin Rakotomandimby, declared that it now has 4,000 members and that this organization, which recently ran afoul of the law (the decision of the Court of Appeals is pending), has numerous cells in the provinces. It should be noted that a representative of Mauritius, Mr Basoul, expounded the purpose of this conference and that he had already contacted other youth movements in the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean. Finally, it should be added that the next meeting will be held in 1985 at New Delhi (India). In conclusion, we note that, contrary to what was reported here yesterday by a newspaper that appears before morning, the MAFM/KTMA did not have an audience with the Prime Minister. [Text] [Antananarivo MADAGASCAR MATIN in French 28 Mar 84 p 2] 12336

CSO: 3419/555

DETAILS ON FRENCH AID GIVEN

Saint Denis TMOIGNAGES in French 20 Mar 84 p 2

[Article: "Billions in 'French Aid': Why? And What For?"]

[Text] The INSEE magazine L'ECONOMIE DE LA REUNION dedicates its tenth issue of the months of March-April 1984 to several topics, all of which take on a certain interest. The first subject analyzes the structures of public transfers from the state to Reunion, their development in recent years and their destination. Thus it is found that aid from France to our island represents 40 percent of our domestic product. This aid was 3.4 billion francs in 1980.

This first subject file leads to a second one and tends to complement it. This concerns the amounts of public aid for development received by the countries of the Third World. One learns that Reunion, grouped in this classification, receives twice as much aid as Madagascar, Mauritius, the Comoro Islands and the Seychelle Islands put together. Our island is also the first country in Africa to receive international public aid per inhabitant under the heading of development. Furthermore, one learns that 40 percent of French aid to the Third World goes to the DOM-TOM.

Let us point out again, in this tenth issue, an article dedicated to the "tennis boom in Reunion" and a study on legal recognition of children. A series of news briefs completes the INSEE magazine.

In the following report, TMOIGNAGES very briefly analyzes the three main questions raised in this issue of L'ECONOMIE DE LA REUNION. We will have the opportunity later to come back in more detail to the main problems which are posed there: the billions in "French aid:" why? and what for?

Reunion is the Most Aided of All the Countries of Africa and the Southwest Indian Ocean Islands

According to the study published by INSEE, which is based on the latest statistical yearbook of the UNO (United Nations Organization), Reunion is the first country in Africa to receive international public aid per inhabitant under the heading of development. In fact, between 1978 and 1980, our island received \$810 per inhabitant per year, slightly surpassing the Island of St. Helena with \$807.

The Seychelles, with just \$361, are in third place. On the average, an African receives only \$21 under the heading of public aid for development, which is 38 times less than a Reunion inhabitant.

Still, according to the INSEE, Reunion places third among African countries on the level of the total amount of aid per country. Only two countries surpass it: Egypt with \$1,597 million, and Tanzania with \$574.5 million. Our island, with \$421.6 million* receives more money than big countries such as Zaire and Kenya.

Another striking figure is the fact that Reunion benefits from twice as much aid as Madagascar, Mauritius, the Comoros and the Seychelles combined. "The privileged situation of Reunion," writes the INSEE, "stands out immediately when one compares it with those of its neighboring islands in the Indian Ocean. The aid received by Reunion represents three times more than that of Madagascar (\$131 million), while the population of the big island equals 18 times that of Reunion. Mauritius, which is twice as populous, receives only \$47 million, or nine times less than our island. Madagascar, Mauritius, the Comoros and the Seychelles together receive \$215 million, that is, just half of the sum received by Reunion.

Public Transfers to Reunion Represent 40 Percent of the Gross National Product

In 1980, the amount of public transfers from the state to Reunion was 3.4 billion francs, or 4.4 times more than in 1970.

How does the INSEE calculate the amount of these transfers? It adds the total state expenditures (salaries, subsidies, investments, contributions...) to the amounts paid to Reunion by the social security administrations (CGSS, CAF, ASSEDIC); from that figure it deducts the state receipts on Reunion (composed essentially of taxes) and the figure arrived at represents the public transfers.

According to the INSEE, the development of the transfers shows that they have held a nearly constant place in Reunion's economy all during the 1970s. The ratio of public transfers to the gross national product has hovered between 39 and 41 percent.

What are these funds from the mother country used for? In the first place, to finance 77.5 percent of the state's expenses. The difference, or 22.5 percent of expenses, is covered by local state receipts.

In state expenses, the biggest item, salaries, monopolizes 43.4 percent of credits (figures for 1980). Then come investments with just 4.3 percent, everyday purchases of goods and services (3.8 percent), aid to local communities (29.2 percent), benefits paid directly by the state to its agents (8.1 percent) and finally, exploration and equipment subsidies paid to firms (7.6 percent).

One must point out, moreover, that public transfers cover 36.2 percent of the expenses of the administering of social security. These transfers likewise come in at the FIDOM level.

* This sum includes aid from France plus that from other countries, such as those of the EEC, for example.

MOVES TO ENLIST MUSLIM ELECTION SUPPORT SLAMMED

Cape Town MUSLIM NEWS in English 23 Mar 84 pp 1, 17

[Text] There has been severe condemnation of moves by certain people to use fear tactics to gain the support of Muslims for the government's racist tricameral parliament. Muslims have instead been urged to work outside the state machinery to establish the Islamic ideals of justice. The Muslim Judicial Council has, in fact, said that voting on August 22 would be 'an act of Haraam and an act of Kufr'.

MUSLIM NEWS learnt of the moves by apartheid apologist recently, when some individuals approached the Muslim Butchers' Association and Muslim traders in Cape Town with the aim of enlisting their support.

After the MBA rejected their approaches they called a meeting of a few Muslim traders. MUSLIM NEWS was present at this meeting after which the traders too rejected the approaches.

The argument used by these lackeys of the system was that if Muslims did not participate in the tricameral parliament then the non-Muslims would gain power and suppress the Muslims.

This type of argument is 'politically unsound and Islamically unacceptable', according to Mr Ibrahim Bawa, Secretary-General of the Islamic Council of South Africa, speaking from Durban.

'The Muslims of South Africa are wide-awake; we shall challenge anything which might jeopardise the practise of Islam in South Africa. It will certainly be a test of Imaan,' said Mr Bawa.

The Muslim Judicial Council of the Cape said, 'Any type of support for the racist tricameral system of government is a blatant violation and denial of the Kalimah or Tauheed and thus an outright denial of Islam.

'The argument used by those ignorant Muslims that there are many material benefits to be gained by participation in this evil system has no basis whatsoever in Islam.

'To support--materially, verbally or by voting for the tricameral racist system on August 22 is an act of Haraam.

'The racist election is going to coincide with the sacred months of Haj and Allah instructs us in the Holy Qur'an (Surah Maida verse ee):

Oh ye who believe! Violate not the sanctity of the Symbols of Allah, Nor of the Sacred Month....'

The Sacred Month means the month of Haj. This is the month in which the global Ummah performs the rites of Haj to demonstrate their allegiance to the 'Symbols of Allah'. The most important of these being the Ka'ba--which is the symbol of the unity of Allah and also the symbol of the direction of the Ummah--the Qibla.

'The plain of Arafat is the symbol of the unity of mankind.

'Supporting the racist system of the new constitution is a blatant violation of these sacred symbols and therefore a blatant violation of Islam. It is an act of Kurf.'

A strong call to all Muslims to reject participation came from Wahdatul Mu'mineen, a Soweto organisation. They labelled supporters of the so-called new deal as 'hypocrites'.

Wahdatul Mu'mineen added, 'They are the ones who have been depriving the oppressed masses of this country from the truth of Islam.

'Furthermore, the Qur'anic ayah: "Whoever helps in an evil cause shares in its burden", is frank in its description of those who join ranks with the oppressors and usurpers of this world. The followers of the line of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) should endeavour to shun from partaking in any of the oppressors' schemes.'

Rejecting threats that non-participation will mean domination over Muslims by non-Muslims as 'nonsensical', Wahdatul Mu'mineen added, 'It is those who believe and do righteous deeds, who believe in the day of judgement, who feed the poor, who take care of the wayfarers, who take care of the sick, who eliminate all forms of evil, who neither oppress nor are oppressed and eliminate oppression--that have been promised rulership of this world by Allah.

'We find no difference between racist and reactionary organisations like the SAIC and the Labour Party and puppet racist leaders like Mangope, Buthelezi, Sebe and others. Those who are actively supporting and helping in the cause of such organisations and personages are guilty of helping in the cause of the racist and oppressive regime of Botha. They are only Muslim by name or ancestral lineage and not by conviction. Their actions are those of hypocrites. They are the ones who have always been helping in the cause of depriving and exploiting the oppressed people of this country.

Qibia, the Cape Town mass movement, 'treated with contempt these threats against Muslims. If Muslims don't fear death then they fear nothing else and no one else.'

The statement added, 'Muslims are under a moral obligation to stand up in the cause of the oppressed people, and they must do so EN MASSE by boycotting the August elections in order to become the legitimate vanguard of the oppressed.'

Clearly labelling these elements who are enlisting the support of the Muslims for the tricameral parliament as persons with selfish vested interests, the Muslim Youth Movement of Durban said, 'Those Muslims who, inspite of the clear directives from all major Muslim organisations in this country, still persist that their participation in the tricameral parliament will benefit Muslims, have parted ways with the rest of the community. To hear some of them say that they will represent Muslim interests in the tricameral parliament is ludicrous.'

The principal of the Institute of Islamic Shariah Studies, Sheikh Abdul Karriem Toffar said, 'It does not behove Muslims to seek short-term benefits from the system at the expense of the long-term progress of Islam in this country.'

'In any case, such benefits will be centred on Muslims of certain communities, viz 'white', 'Asian' and 'Coloured' at the exclusion of 'Blacks'. As such, a serious racial division will be applicable to the Muslim group in this country in matters of culture, social and religious affairs, which in itself, is a serious inroad and negation of the Islamic set-up itself and the principles enshrined in its law.'

The Jamiatul Ulema of Natal in rejecting participation said, 'Any system of legislation that overlooks the rights of Allah Almighty and society cannot enjoy the goodwill of a conscientious man.'

'The Jamiatual Ulema is unequivocally committed to the principles of Islam and opposes any violation or disregard of these principles.'

'The proposed constitutional dispensation, despite being an attempt to accommodate the ever-growing demand of political participation represents a perpetuation of the existing system.'

A spokesman for the Ahle Sunnah Wal Jama'a of Durban said the view of the organisation was that the constitutional proposals 'violate both Islamic and moral principles. It is therefore not possible for us to give it our consent.'

'Islam is totally against any form of discrimination or racial seperation and the constitutional proposals are designed just for that purpose.'

Dr Abdul Wahab also rejected the threats by certain individuals that non-participation will mean domination by non-Muslims. 'Allah reminds us that our faith will be put through a stringent test before we can lay claim to being true Muslims.'

The Jamiatual Ulema of Transvaal refused to comment unless MUSLIM NEWS put the questions in writing.

The Majlisush Shura al-Islami of Cape Town was contacted on several occasions for a statement. At the time of going to press they had not responded.

CSO: 3400/838

CP, HNP BY-ELECTION COOPERATION REJECTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Apr 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jaap Theron]

[Text] CO-OPERATION between the CP and HNP in the coming Potgietersrus provincial by-elections appears to be out after the HNP rejected the CP's backing of the Nkomati Accord.

The HNP apparently, in a letter to the CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, last week, attacked the CP's foreign policy--which includes the signing of non-aggression pacts with neighbouring Black states.

A CP spokesman said yesterday Dr Treurnicht would reply to the HNP's letter, written by its leader, Mr Jaap Marais, in today's issue of their mouthpiece, Die Patriot.

According to the spokesman, the HNP leader has clearly gone out of his way to find an excuse--in this case the CP's long-standing foreign policy of non-aggression pacts with neighbouring states--not to enter into a by-election agreement with the CP in Potgietersrus.

Before the Soutpansberg parliamentary and provincial by-elections the HNP and CP met with a view to considering co-operation.

The HNP, then, demanded a 50-50 division of all constituencies countrywide between the CP and HNP, as a precondition for co-operating with the CP.

The CP shot the HNP's suggestions down and co-operation in Soutpansberg was down the drain.

Now it is understood that the HNP has demanded that the CP repudiates its own foreign policy--as contained in its policy document--as a precondition for HNP cooperation in Potgietersrus.

The CP spokesman said in no way would the CP yield to any such demand by the HNP, adding, it would put up its own candidate in Potgietersrus.

The Citizen also understood that the HNP leadership, did some time ago, indicate to the CP leadership it was in favour "of the two parties becoming a single party."

But again the HNP leadership had an unacceptable precondition. They demanded a 50-50 division of constituencies as an absolute precondition before such a merger.

The HNP's planning committee met in Pretoria last night to consider the party's participation in the Potgietersrus provincial by-election.

The CP has already appointed Mr Jan Homan as its candidate, whilst the NP will soon nominate Mr Deon Swanepoel as its candidate.

CSO: 3400/883

SOVIET ROLE IN ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 Apr 84 p 4

[Text] ATTEMPTS by the Soviet Union to strengthen its position in Angola and Mozambique and to bring other Southern African states under its influence continued unabated over the past two years, says a Defence White Paper tabled in Parliament.

During 1982/83 the consolidation and expansion of Soviet influence in certain states in Southern Africa, as well as the build-up of the military capabilities of these states, among other things for the protection of Swapo and ANC bases received priority says the paper, tabled by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

"By means of increased liaison, arms deliveries and the presence of Soviet bloc and Cuban personnel, the USSR is attempting to strengthen its position, particularly in Angola and Mozambique.

"Efforts to draw the other states of Southern Africa into the Soviet sphere of influence continued unabated.

"The number of Soviet and Eastern bloc military and civilian personnel in Southern Africa is at present estimated at some 40 000. This includes at least 25 000 Cuban soldiers in Angola.

"In addition, during 1982/83 the USSR delivered Osa II class attack craft equipped with Styx missiles, a number of MIG 21 fighters, Sam 8 air-defence missiles and T62 tanks to Angola as well as anti-military aircraft and tanks to Mozambique.

"Soviet naval activity on the west coast of Africa has increased considerably and Luanda is being developed as the USSR's most important naval base in the south Atlantic.

"In spite of the increased threat potential, the military situation has been reasonably favourable for the RSA during this period.

"To a large extent, this can be ascribed to the sustained direct and indirect pressure by the RSA security forces on the Anti-RSA terrorist organisations.

ANC terrorist activities during 1982/83 may be seen as armed propaganda.

The various acts of sabotage were primarily aimed at obtaining wide publicity in local and international media.

Apart from acts of sabotage the ANC has continued its subversive activities in order to incite social and labour unrest.

This action is supported by a world-wide propaganda campaign in which several churches, church leaders and church organisations in the RSA, backed by the World Council of Churches, are involved.

Some of these organisations openly lend moral support to terrorist organisations and participate in undermining the SA Defence Force by, among other things, assisting national service dodgers.

1983 1400/842

COMMENTARY ON REPORTED BUILDUP OF SOVIET ARMS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Apr 84 p 6

[Editorial: "Get Out"]

[Text]

INTERESTING, isn't it?

The Soviet Union is pouring arms into Africa, according to the American Department of Defence.

Not that we are surprised. We have drawn attention to this in the past.

What still surprises us is that nobody cares a damn. So the latest assessment won't cause any flutter in Western capitals, although the extent of the Soviet aid should make some of South Africa's critics sit up and take notice.

According to the Washington report, the Soviet Union agreed to provide Angola with almost R900-million in military aid to support Luanda's fight against Unita.

The report discloses that the "Soviets have recently stepped up deliveries of sophisticated arms to Angola including air defence equipment and advanced jet aircraft".

More than 3 500 Soviet military advisers in sub-Saharan Africa are concentrated mainly in Ethiopia and Angola.

According to the report, the massive Soviet military aid that has enabled Cuba to maintain about 30 000 troops in Africa was increased in 1981, 1982 and 1983.

"Military support to Cuba in the past three years is valued at almost R2-billion."

The report states that, among Moscow's proxies, Cuba is undoubtedly the most important.

Now we in South Africa know that if it were not for the presence of Cubans in Angola, the South West African dispute would have been settled months ago.

The Cubans are there to prop up the Luanda government, and their presence helps to destabilise the region.

Now just suppose South Africa had openly poured R900-million of arms and equipment into Angola in support of Unita last year.

We can just imagine the reaction.

The French Foreign Minister, Mr Cheysson, would have said that racist South Africa was involved in Angola's civil war in furtherance of its policy of apartheid, which was a disgrace, etcetera, etcetera.

Mrs Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, would have said that by its involvement in the civil war in Angola, South Africa was helping to destabilise that country and the whole region.

Other countries, especially in the Eastern bloc and Third World, would have been even less restrained. They would have said that South Africa was pursuing its policy of colonialist imperialism with acts of aggression against a nearby country.

Nobody would suggest that any reprisal should be taken against Russia and its surrogate, Cuba, for intervening in an area which is so remote from both countries that they have no direct interest in it.

Nobody would say the terrible Russians and the awful Cubans are helping to destabilise a subcontinent.

Russia and Cuba can do as they please because Russia is a superpower, and penalising it for its actions might have repercussions far beyond the Angolan issue.

The Cubans are Russia's proxies, therefore nobody threatens Cuba with sanctions for involving itself militarily not only in Africa, but in the Middle East, the Caribbean and Central America.

As for any Western country acting against Cuba, the Americans did knock the stuffing out of a small Cuban force in Grenada, but then Grenada is in America's backyard and besides, there was no risk of dragging Russia into the affair.

Put simply: While the Russians, through their Cuban proxies, help to prop up the Luanda regime, there will be no desire by the Angolan Government to settle with Unita and end the civil war.

And while the Cubans are in Angola, there will be no likelihood of Pretoria agreeing to a settlement in South West Africa.

What the world should be telling the Cubans and their Russian masters is to get the hell out of Southern Africa and let the people of the subcontinent sort out their own problems without foreign intervention.

WHITE PAPER REPORTS ON ARMS RESERVE, SOVIET THREAT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 Apr 84 p 11

[Text] SOUTH Africa has reserve capacity in most of its armament capabilities, according to a Government White Paper on defence and armaments supply.

The White Paper, tabled in Parliament yesterday afternoon, says the Defence Force's backlog in respect of strategic supplies has been eliminated and at present the reserve capacity holds both an advantage and disadvantage.

The advantage is that it offers export opportunities but the disadvantage is that the additional capacity has to be financed by the lower volume of current production at a time of high interest rates.

"There is a direct relationship between the preparedness of the SADF and that of the supporting armaments industry," the White Paper says.

"For this reason it is necessary that the armaments capabilities that have been created should be maintained at a high level."

Armcor's participation in the Athens and Santiago weapons shows was a highlight of the year and resulted in favourable publicity in the foreign Press and worldwide recognition of South Africa's ability to develop and manufacture sophisticated armaments. This participation contributed to further motivate members of the local armaments industry.

This lead South Africa achieved in respect of frequency-hopping radio equipment was increased and is being extended to include tactical radio equipment such as Manpack sets, the White Paper says.

In order to meet future requirements without foreign aid, research and development is needed over a far wider spectrum, increasingly aimed at the long term.

The results of several programmes will be available only by the end of the decade and this complicates budgeting, the paper says.

A further setback which will delay the completion of certain programmes is the unexpected delay in establishing a new missile testing range at De Hoop.

Red Arms Build-Up Could be SA Threat

THE arms build-up in South Africa's neighbouring countries could afford the USSR the opportunity of manning them at short notice with surrogate forces better trained than the troops of the host countries, according to a White Paper on defence and armaments supply table in Parliament yesterday.

The White Paper warns that should the arms build-up reach excessive proportions it would constitute a threat to South Africa.

The matter is dealt with in the document's conclusion, which says certain trends "which may increase in extent and intensity in the future," have been identified.

The escalating threat arising from the ever-increasing interests of the USSR and its surrogates in Southern Africa, together with the insurgency threat, could lead to a conventional onslaught against the RSA the White Paper says.

There was growing support, including logistics, for anti-South African terrorist forces in host countries and a growing possibility that terrorist forces would be integrated with their defence forces.

"The rapid build-up of conventional arms in the terrorist host countries around the RSA is threatening to seriously disrupt the balance of power in Southern Africa," the White Paper says.

"This also affords the USSR the opportunity of manning these weapons at short notice with surrogate forces who are better trained than the defence forces of the host countries concerned."

CSO: 3400/842

REPORT EMPHASIZES NEED FOR BORDER BASES

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 Apr 84 p 4

[Text] HOUSE of ASSEMBLY--A comprehensive operational study undertaken in collaboration with the SA Army and the SA Navy has emphasised the need for main fighter bases close to the Republic's borders, a defence White Paper says.

The study also emphasised the need for small forward airfields for use by light support aircraft in both conventional and counter-insurgency operations.

The White Paper on Defence and Armaments Supply (1984) was tabled in Parliament yesterday by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

According to the White Paper, the aim of the study was to investigate the expansion of the existing force design of the SAAF in order to counter a conventional threat from certain states in Southern Africa.

"During this operational study of the requirements of the SAAF in main armaments, as well as the need for certain modernisation programmes, were reaffirmed."

A main fighter base is under construction at Louis Trichardt, the White Paper says, while the forward airfield programme in the Transvaal and Natal has just been completed.

According to the White Paper, the provision of spares for highly sophisticated equipment in the SAAF has been a serious problem.

"A comprehensive manufacturing plan in which Armscor involved both its own subsidiaries and the private sector, is already producing good results.

Priorities

As regards the provision of spare parts, priorities have been identified in respect of 10 types of aircraft which require specific attention.

"In respect of specified types of aircraft in this group, there has been a resultant increase in combat-readiness. As the progress with the manufacture of spare parts improves there will be a resulting improvement in the capabilities of the SAAF.

"More accurate and effective locally-developed and manufactured weapons have also been commissioned. This contributes to increased preparedness and improved cost-effective employment of the SAAF".

With the phasing out of the Shackleton maritime aircraft towards the end of this year, the SAAF will have no long-range maritime reconnaissance capability, the White Paper says.

"Its maritime branch will then have only a limited air and sea rescue capability. Rescue attempts on the international aviation routes over the sea and on shipping routes, will consequently be entirely dependent on shipping. This will inevitably lead to a slower and less effective service.

Navy Ships

"However, the possibility of operating large helicopters from SA Navy ships in order to speed up rescue attempts is being investigated. The replacement of the long-range maritime aircraft continues to receive attention.

During the past two years the ANC and Swapo have increasingly tried to obtain protection against SAAF attacks by siting their main bases in the immediate vicinity of the ground-to-air missile and anti-aircraft positions of the host countries.

CSO: 3400/842

HORWOOD'S PROPOSED 1984-85 BUDGET ANALYZED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 1 Apr 84 p 27

[Article by Johan van Zyl: "Government is Bursting Out of Its Seams"]

[Text] **IT** may have been Mr Horwood's last stand. Unfortunately, like Custer's it could end in a great deal of sadness. For however tough the 1984/85 Budget might look at first glance, it could be too soft for our eventual comfort.

The tax increases are only too clearly visible. But, rather like the other side of the moon, the escalating government expenditure is not. It is thus easy to conclude that this is a hard, tough Budget.

There must be many people wondering why the Government has been so negative.

Surely with all the bad news around this is the time for a strong forward push, for tax reductions rather than increases?

Unfortunately, frustrating though it is, this cannot be.

The crippling drought and the low gold price have greatly shrunk the cloth from which Mr Horwood could fashion coats for his people.

Even so, it is questionable whether his tailoring has been sufficient to cover government expenditure, which is likely to burst its seams once again.

The pressures of 1983 could easily continue into 1984. It is true that South Africa is now poorer than when the gold price was consistently over the \$500 mark. So once again the name of the game is adjustment.

From the viewpoint of responsible government the only options should be how to distribute the pain. To try to alleviate it would be dishonest and in due course detrimental to both economic growth and inflation.

This is why the crucial question surrounding this Budget must be how realistic it really is. The intentions and the rhetoric are impressive. But what about actual performance?

There are three standard tests which are generally applied by mainstream economists to evaluate national budgets:

● The growth of government expenditure.

● The size of the deficit before borrowing.

● Whether or not this deficit is financed in an inflationary manner.

By these yardsticks Mr Horwood's most serious problem is curbing ballooning government expenditure.

Since 1978/79 expenditure has risen from R9 800-million to the R22 300-million budgeted for 1983/84. It has thus grown by a compound rate of 17,4 percent a year.

Even allowing for inflation, this has outstripped the growth rate of the economy as a whole, which indicates that the Government's share of total expenditure has, in fact, been rising.

These facts reverse Mr Horwood's earlier successes in curbing the excesses of the Diederichs era.

During 1983 public-sector expenditure again hit 29 percent of GDP. In the past six years the estimates have been substantially less than the actual amounts by which expenditure has grown each year.

Thus, for instance, in 1980/81 the Budget estimates indicated 14 percent growth. Actual expenditure rose by 18,4 percent.

In 1983/84 the estimate of expenditure was 10,3 percent. The final figure was 16,3 percent.

In fact, the Minister's "under-shooting" has got consistently worse over the years. Overruns as a percentage of the Budget have risen year by year from a relatively modest 1,9 percent in 1978/79 to a disturbing 5,4 percent last year.

The Minister himself has warned that South Africa is in danger of developing a "cost plus system" of government expenditure in which amounts are simply added on to last year's figures without a fundamental reassessment of expenditure priorities.

Tired

Of course, not all increases are bad. The 23 percent increase in education spending is clearly necessary and desirable.

South Africa, however, simply cannot afford an add-on approach to expenditure. For some years the business community has been urging the Government to adopt a "zero-based" approach to the setting of priorities of departmental expenditure.

Boiled down, this requires each department to justify

afresh each project it has to secure financial allocations. It is welcome news indeed that the Cabinet is to consider this system during the year.

Mr Horwood is clearly tired of the unrewarding job of saying "no" to directors-general who continually clamour for more funds.

His hand would have been immeasurably strengthened if this disciplining device had already been in operation. There is now a definite credibility problem with government expenditure estimates for the current year.

Few would believe that on the record of the recent past the expenditure targets will be met. Indeed, one can only conclude that, against the first yardstick, this year's Budget is likely to fail.

Unpopular

It will promote premature stimulation of the economy unless further unpopular steps are taken.

The second benchmark concerns the size of the deficit before borrowing. Here the Minister has indulged in some fancy footwork.

A grab-bag of adjustments and controversial measures has succeeded in increasing taxes by R957-million. An amount of R259-million has been spirited in from the sale of Sasol shares, while R30-million less has been appropriated to South West Africa.

By these devices the deficit before borrowing is reduced to below R3 000-million. This is substantially less than the record actual deficit of R3 800-million last year, but is still too high for comfort.

While companies and drinkers and smokers have been hit, the Government has avoided increasing GST or personal taxes (via a surcharge) at a time of really acute financial stringency. Has a golden opportunity not been missed to bite the bullet and bring inflation down to the levels prevailing in our major trading partner countries?

Instead of increasing taxes to curb individual spending, Mr Horwood has followed the politically more acceptable course of substantially increasing effective company taxes.

This "business bashing" has been, on the whole, well received by the man-in-the-street.

There is, after all, a general perception, incorrect though it

may be, that the company sector is making exorbitant monopoly profits.

There is also no doubt that the business community has exploited loopholes in the tax system.

No abuse of the tax system can be tolerated. But, to curb abuses, Mr Horwood has introduced sweeping changes in the tax structure for companies, thus throwing out the baby with the bathwater.

In one fell swoop he has generated much additional revenue at the cost of substantially increasing the overall burden of tax on the business sector, which is the real engine of growth of the economy.

The danger is that South Africa is becoming a high tax country. The Government already raises proportionately more revenue from company tax than many major nations in the world.

This has disturbing implications for long-term investment trends in the country. Thus, whereas the Minister must be given credit for holding down the size of the deficit before borrowing, the manner in which he has done this cannot be applauded. It is likely to have a detrimental longer-term impact on industrial growth.

Finally, there is the yardstick of financing the deficit. It was argued earlier that it is unlikely that the Government's expenditure targets will be met.

If this happens and GST is not increased, the Government will have to borrow much more than anticipated.

Inflation

To avoid using the printing press it will have to compete with the private sector on the capital market. This must inevitably put further pressure on already high interest rates.

If such an approach should turn out to be politically unacceptable, the printing press is the only alternative. And this means more inflation.

It can only be fervently hoped that this will not be so. Regrettably, sober analysis indicates that the Minister has introduced a permissive Budget. As with children, permissiveness allows things to get out of hand. If this should happen the Reserve Bank will be in the fall-back position.

In the circumstances one can only wish wish Dr Gerhard de Kock well.

WHITE PAPER ON DEVELOPING, MAINTAINING CONVENTIONAL FORCE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 Apr 84 p 11

[Text]

DEVELOPING and maintaining a conventional force in the Republic serves not only as a credible deterrent to potential aggressors, but also as a demonstration beyond all doubt of South Africa's will to defend her sovereignty, even forcibly, by means of offensive operations.

This is stated in a White Paper on defence and armaments supply, 1984, by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

"The design of the forces required for conventional operations is based on three geographical areas — a western area,

an eastern area and a northern area. The force level requirements of each of these areas is determined by means of operational studies.

Apart from certain specialized equipment for which alternatives were available, the SA Army at present had a number of combat-ready conventional formations and mechanised units.

In addition, the White Paper says, elements of the paratroop forces have been prepared to conduct airborne assault operations.

"To further promote the efficiency of the SA Army two new territorial commands have been es-

tablished that will also be responsible for the conduct of conventional operations on their respective fronts.

"The escalation of the threat and the availability of funds are taken into consideration in determining the rate at which the rest of the conventional force is to be extended and prepared."

The conventional force consists mainly of Citizen Force units that have to be called up for operations. However, when such units are engaged in training they are available at short notice for operations, the White Paper says.

Area Forces 'Effective'

THE infiltration of ANC terrorists into South Africa from states in Southern Africa necessitates an expansion and improvement of the area-protection capabilities of the SA Army, a Defence White Paper says.

"This expansion is also necessary because the border between the Republic and these states is rather long."

The Defence Amendment Act of 1982, says the White Paper enables the SA Army to utilise additional manpower on a selective basis in the commando

force, which enables commandos to achieve a more effective area coverage.

"As the implementation is closely related to the security requirements in commando areas, the new system is being applied in stages and according to laid-down guidelines and priorities."

"Where terrorists have ventured into areas within SWA and the Republic, the area forces have on many occasions on their own eliminated these terrorists within a short time."

SHORTAGE OF COMMANDOS, LIMITED GROWTH OF SADF NOTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 Apr 84 p 4

[Text] THE new National Service system introduced last year has left the commando force short of men, says a Defence White Paper tabled in parliament yesterday.

The White Paper on defence and armaments supply says that in view of the wide field covered by the new National Service system, it is encouraging that so few problems were encountered in its implementation.

The major problem affected the commandos, which requires members with an annual service commitment of more than 12 days. The available number of area-bound members transferred to the commando force was too small to meet this requirement.

Transferring members who are not area bound and who do not want to be classified as such would legally mean they have a commando commitment of only 12 days a year and such an arrangement does not suit the needs of the commandos.

As an interim measure it was decided to attach people with Citizen Force commitments to the commandos.

While they retain their Citizen Force commitments, such members will be used by the commandos for a maximum period of 120 days in each two-year cycle.

The administrative problems caused by the fact that they will not become full commando members, will be rectified in legislation during the current session of parliament, the paper says.

SADF Growth 'Limited'

THE complement of Coloured men in the SA Defence Force rose by 22 percent and of Blacks by 13 percent, says a White Paper tabled in Parliament.

The White Paper on Defence and Armament Supply also says the planned expansion of the full time force was limited to 5,8 percent compared to the 17 percent expansion aimed for by 1987. A major reason for this is the lack of accommodation for other population groups and for White women in certain centres.

White women's numbers were not expanded as planned and grew by only 0,4 percent. They make up nine percent of the permanent force as a whole.

Although the permanent force numbers increased they represent a smaller percentage of the full time force than two years ago.

CSO: 3400/842

JUSTICE MINISTER URGED TO RESIGN

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 13 Apr 84 p 4

[Text] THE Opposition's chief spokesman on Justice, Mr Dave Dalling, yesterday called on the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee to resign.

He said in a special debate on the Hoexter Commission report that it showed the Minister had:

- Failed to appreciate the needs of his department;
- Failed to take the necessary steps to remedy shortcomings;
- Been timid to the point of delaying needed reform while waiting for the judgement of others and allowing grave damage to be done; and
- Such minimal influence in the Cabinet that he had to wait for such a report in order to deal with problems.

Mr Dalling criticised the Minister's tactics in speaking first in the debate and called his speech an "insipid response" to the Hoexter report.

The Minister had left several issues untouched, had played his cards close to his chest and tried to excuse his Government's failings by claiming credit for its having appointed the commission.

"It is high time the Government took seriously the criticisms of the glaring weaknesses in our system of administration of justice."

Mr Dalling said the weaknesses had been pointed out to the Government over the years in the Press, by the judiciary, by the Official Opposition, Black leaders and by academics.

"The Government has ignored them up to now.

"It is a tragedy that procrastination, indolence, insensitivity, complacency, indifference and incompetence on the part of the Cabinet and successive Ministers of Justice have resulted in the sad state of affairs existing as described so graphically by this commission.

"I go so far as to say if I were the Minister of Justice and I received an authoritative report of this nature evidencing malfunction, inadequacies, deterioration and stagnation in virtually every facet of the portfolio for which I was responsible, I would resign.

"The Minister has not even begun to address the administration of Justice if he thinks that all he has to do is build more prisons.

"The House wanted to know clearly what the Government's view of the commission's report was and what it intended to do about it, he said."

CSO: 3400/839

NKOMATI SEEN CREATING FALSE SENSE OF SECURITY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 13 Apr 84 p 6

[Editorial: "The Shield"]

[Text]

THE TROUBLE with fulsome praise of Nkomati and the peace initiative is that it creates not only a false sense of euphoria, to which this newspaper has drawn attention several times, but it begins to undermine the defence effort.

If we don't have to worry about our neighbours anymore, the argument goes, why have such a big Defence Force — and why have men called up for two years, or forced to undergo periods of military service until middle age?

With this kind of talk, it is not surprising that a Johannesburg afternoon newspaper has suggested that "perhaps the time has come to ask whether it is necessary to call up every White youth for two whole years".

Reasons it gives for posing this question are "South Africa's defence picture must surely be changing," the situation is "perceptibly improving on some of our borders," and there is evidence of a "great waste of manpower" in the forces.

If the two-year call-up of every White youth is still necessary, the newspaper says, the nation should be told why.

The answer is given in the White Paper on Defence tabled in Parliament this week.

After pointing out that 1982/83 was characterised by a relatively favourable military situation for the Republic owing to successful anti-terrorist action, it says that by "taking firm action and also by developing a strong military potential, the SA Defence Force has created a successful strategy of deterrence."

That deterrence, of course, must continue.

The White Paper stresses that Russia's aims are still for world domination and one of its targets for destabilisation is South Africa.

It refers to Soviet-inspired efforts at isolation of South Africa in the military sphere, as well as "efforts to commit the RSA security forces on as many fronts as possible and to escalate internal subversive activities."

It stresses that developing and maintaining a conventional force in the Republic serves not only as a deterrent to potential aggressors, but also a demonstration beyond all doubt of South Africa's will to defend her sovereignty, even forcibly, by means of offensive operations.

In a significant paragraph, it says that by "means of increased liaison, arms deliveries and the presence of Soviet bloc and Cuban personnel, the USSR is attempting to strengthen its position, particularly in Angola and Mozambique."

Ah, but the Nkomati Accord has neutralised Mozambique, say the armchair strategists. There will be no aggression from that country if the pact continues to be implemented as it has been until now, with the Mozambique Government clamping down on the ANC.

But only a fool would believe that Russia intends meekly to allow Mozambique to escape from its influence and fall permanently into the Western camp.

President Machel is as sincere as a Marxist can be, but in the long term Russia will inevitably try to intensify its threat to South Africa via surrogates in Southern Africa and, who knows, Mozambique might again be one of them.

As for the border war, despite disengagement in Southern Angola, there is no settlement in South West Africa.

Even when there is one, the threat to South Africa's security will not vanish.

It will simply mean that the enemy will be on our own north-west border.

The simple truth is that we have to maintain our defence effort, and expand it, however inconvenient the call-up is to our young men and however costly the burden of defence is to our country.

One day, our internal problems will hopefully be resolved, and we will no longer be the target of the world's hate, without allies to support us.

Until that day arrives, vigilance must be our watchword and the Defence Force must be the shield behind which we can bring about the necessary changes.

COMMUNISTS PRESSURE SLOVO AFTER NKOMATI PACT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Apr 84 p 9

[Article by Tony Stirling]

[Text]

FORMER South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo, is under pressure and could lose his position in the high command of the banned African National Congress (ANC).

According to sources in Pretoria, Mozambique, in accordance with the Nkomati agreement, has placed certain visa restrictions on armed persons reaching, or remaining in the country, which has resulted in action being taken against a number of members of the ANC.

The South African sources expect several desperate attempts by the military wing of the ANC, which has always operated under the guidance of Mr Slovo, to take place in order to create the impression that the ANC has a solid infrastructure in South Africa.

But as predicted by the

Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, strike base against South Africa.

According to the sources action being taken against a number of ANC officials in Mozambique is in terms of visa requirements which restrict the possession of arms. It was pointed out that with the closure of Mozambique as a launching pad for terror attacks, the ANC now had to deal with hugely extended lines of supply.

According to the sources, it was known that the ANC had training bases in Angola.

But to penetrate South Africa from this area would require covert penetration of adjoining territories, such as Botswana, which had already indicated through direct action that it is not prepared to tolerate armed groups using its territory as a springboard for at-

tack against South Africa.

As Zimbabwe has also declared its unwillingness to act as a host for across-the-border raids by the ANC, the organisation will probably find itself limited in the military sense to re-organising in Tanzania.

It already has bases in that country, but in the long term South African sources predict a diminution in the ANC's military onslaught and an increasing reliance on rhetoric.

As a result, it has been forecast, that the role of persons such as Joe Slovo, a named Colonel in the KGB, could be placed under pressure.

Mr Slovo, according to the sources, has not been seen in Maputo since Mozambique made it clear that it will not tolerate its territory being used as a base for ANC attacks against South Africa.

SPLIT IN POWERFUL SAAWU REPORTED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 10 Apr 84 p 1

[Article by Joshua Raboroko]

[Text] THE POWERFUL South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) has split following the suspension of its general secretary, Mr Sam Kikine, and two other executive members.

The newly-elected first president of the union, Mr Welcome Tshangase, told The SOWETAN yesterday that the three officials have now formed their own union.

The two other suspended officials are the national organiser, Mr Herbert Barnabas, and an executive committee member, Mr I Ngcobo.

The three were suspended for alleged unconstitutional activities in the union, according to Mr Tshangase.

Mr Barnabas in turn told The SOWETAN that the conference in Soweto last weekend was unconstitutional as it was held without the knowledge of senior officials.

Mr Barnabas said regions which dissociated themselves from the weekend conference did not attend, and among these were: Durban, Heidelberg, Estcourt, Newcastle, Ladysmith, Johannesburg, Tongaat, Stanger, Pietermaritzburg.

He said these regions did not recognise the "Gqwetha group".

Mr Tshangase said over 400 delegates from all the union's regions--Transvaal, Eastern Cape and Natal--attended the weekend conference.

The following were elected office bearers at the conference: Mr Thozamile Gqwetha, president; Mr Tshangase, first president; Mr Zolile Tshawale, second president; Mr Sisa Njekelani, general-secretary and Mr Robertson Mathe, assistant-general secretary.

CSO: 3400/838

SAPPI EXPANSION COST LIKELY TO TOP R1 BILLION

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 2 Apr 84 p 10

[Article by Peter Farley]

[Text]

The total cost of Sappi's pulp and paper expansion project appears to have risen to over R1 billion, according to figures published in the annual report.

It says: "At 31 December 1983, expenditure on the construction at Ngodwana amounted to R719 million and a further R72 million had been committed." But four pages later it adds: "In addition to construction costs, finance and related costs of approximately R280 million are likely to be incurred."

These three figures make for a current final total of R1,071 billion. The project's original cost was set at R800 million, plus a 10 percent escalation clause — for a final expectation of R880 million.

Chairman Mr Basil Landau says in the annual report only that the final cost in 1985 is expected to be about five percent above the original construction cost budget. Neither the firm's managing director or financial director were immediately available for comment.

There can be little doubt that Sappi is in for a tough time this year. And, although the Gencor-controlled pulp and paper producer is looking for an improvement in export earnings, it appears likely its domestic markets are going to come under increasing pressure.

But the company can take comfort that its effective tax

rate will remain exceptionally low, with recent measures announced by the government likely to have little impact.

It is not expected that the company will be liable for tax in the foreseeable future.

No tax was paid by the company or its wholly-owned subsidiaries last year on net pre-tax income of R103,6 million.

However, almost R7 million was paid to the Receiver on the group's portion of tax liabilities in associate companies — mainly Carlton Paper.

The company was able to take advantage of both the capitalisation of interest on initial and investment allowances and the benefits of leverage leasing, before these tax benefits were removed.

Virtually all these advantages stem from the group's expansion at Ngodwana and Enstra.

Project costs have, however, been accentuated by the weakness of the rand against the dollar — much of the equipment is imported — continuing high inflation and the recent increase in general sales tax.

But while the weakness of the rand has increased costs for Ngodwana, it has strengthened the company's prospects in the export market.

And, after all, it is in this area that the long-term viability and success of Ngodwana will lie.

On the domestic front the position is not so bright. Apart from depressed demand, paper imports — particularly in the Cape region — are making inroads into traditional markets.

And Mr Landau says that while there may be a slight full-year earnings improvement if the economy revives later, first half income is likely to be below 1983's first six months.

The Fine Papers division — which accounts for almost 40 percent of group turnover — is expecting a deteriorating local market to be slightly more offset by export sales.

At 1850c the share is rated at a slight premium to the paper sector's average dividend yield of five percent. Sappi looks fully-priced for the time being.

CSO: 3400/838

CONSERVATIVE LINE OF DRUM MAGAZINE SHOCKS MANY

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 10 Apr 84 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text] **THE STARTLING** if sudden switch of Drum magazine from liberal ownership to the right-wing establishment Nasionale Pers must have come as a shock to many who were witness to the dynamic role played by this once excellent magazine.

In many ways Drum was associated with the image of the giant Africa breaking the chains of colonialism and imperialism and moving into independent states, all the way from Ghana to Zimbabwe. For the truth is that Drum often played a significant role in the liberation of these countries and it had become an adage that when Drum beats the whole of Africa listens.

In South Africa the magazine was something of the cradle of black journalism, and many will remember the heart-stopping exposures — pictorial and otherwise — that the talented writers on this magazine produced month after month.

Whatever can be said of Jim Bailey — and there are many who do not regard him with an awful lot of kindness — he was able to fashion the exuberant and very often penetrating kind of writing that has sadly disappeared into history. Drum was known and respected worldwide, and it became the kind of forge from whence many talented black South Africans sprang.

We think that people like Can

Themba and Casey Motsisi must be turning in their graves with the end of this era. We believe people like Bloke Modisane, the late Nat Nakasa and Bob Gosani must be whirling in their graves at this awful turn of events. It is with more than sadness that Drum should have been sold to the kind of ownership that is in direct contrast to what the magazine stood for and often bitterly fought for. It is a "sell-out" — in keeping with the Nkomati Accord, many people will say.

It is also the end of an era of bright and breezy journalism, for Drum was where most black writers cut their teeth.

What is likely to happen now we can only guess at with some trepidation. We know from precedents that the kind of charter signed between proprietors and editorial is not worth the paper it is written on.

Thus, whatever the present editorial staff at Drum and its sister paper, City Press, think is going to happen to their "independence", they will convince nobody that they will be as aggressively anti-government as they used to be. The editor of that once august British newspaper, The Times, learned the hard way and eventually resigned after the new proprietor reneged on the charter he had signed at the takeover.

Mr Rupert Murdoch, who bought The Times, is more of a capitalist than a politician and this cannot be said of the owners of the Nasionale Pers. We are afraid even their now aggressive capitalistic tendencies will always have to be in line with the status quo.

So we will be watching with great sadness to see what these journalists and their editors will do. They will also be watched by readers, we are afraid.

We do not wish to kick a man when he is down, but it does seem there will have to be extra-ordinary dexterity on the part of the editors to please their bosses, and the masses they have been playing to all these years.

CSO: 3400/8-1-

BUTHULEZI CONTINUES ATTACK ON NRP

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 13 Apr 84 p 13

[Text]

DURBAN. — The head of the KwaZulu nation, Chief Gatsha Buthulezi, said yesterday that he stood by his attack on the New Republic Party (NRP) in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on Wednesday.

Chief Buthulezi, speaking from Ulundi, claimed that the vast majority of his people had no respect whatsoever for the NRP.

In the Assembly on Wednesday he described the NRP as a "dying White political viper, spitting racial venom at anything Black in sight."

Chief Buthulezi said yesterday he was particularly incensed by NRP criticism of a joint campaign by the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and Inkatha against the new constitution.

He said the comment made by NRP spokesmen during the no confidence debate in Parliament earlier this year truly reflected the party's attitude towards Blacks.

Chief Buthulezi said in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that references by Mr Ron Miller, MP for Durban North, and leader of the NRP in Natal, to the Buthulezi commission of inquiry as representing the unqualified transfer of power from the White

minority to the Black majority in Natal," represented unbridled racialism and sanctimonious White supremacy."

The chief also attacked Mr Vause Raw, national leader of the NRP and MP for Durban Point, Mr Derrick Watterson, MP for Umbilo, and Mr George Bartlett, MP for Amanzimtoti. Chief Buthulezi said Blacks knew these White "Baases" who said they knew "their kaffirs".

Chief Buthulezi also claimed that the NRP was doing the National Party's "dirty washing".

Reacting to the attack yesterday Mr Miller said from Cape Town that by these kind of statements Chief Buthulezi was losing a lot of credibility.

He was harming Black-White relations and the viciousness of his attack would not go unheeded.

He believed that Chief Buthulezi was in danger of not being taken seriously by any politician who had the interest of Blacks and Whites at heart.

When Chief Buthulezi warned Whites last year not to vote "Yes" in the referendum he was strongly attacked by Mr Watterson, who accused him of bullying tactics.

WHITES' SENSE OF EUPHORIA DANGEROUS, SAYS SLABBERT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 Apr 84 p 14

[Text]

DURBAN .— It was not only silly, but dangerous, for Whites to live in a false sense of euphoria simply because of the Nkomati Accord and the referendum result, the leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, warned yesterday.

It was, however, good to keep alive a positive climate for reform which could be exploited to bring about real change, he told a lunchtime meeting of students at the University of Natal in Durban.

"The Nkomati Accord stabilised relationships between Mozambique and South Africa but it did not bring about reform between Black and white inside South Africa.

"It does, however, make it possible to divert time, energy and re-

sources to finding new solutions to old problems in our domestic situation," he said.

But the sign for such new solutions were not forthcoming.

It should not be forgotten that the National Party Government's policy towards "fellow Black South Africans" was based on the assumption they were not South African citizens.

They could therefore not be part of a common South African constitution and their migration to the cities to look for work had to be subject to influx control, which broke up family life and treated them as foreigners in the land of their birth.

We are approaching the Easter recess of the last session of the present parliament and so far there is no evidence the Government is prepared to depart from these assumptions," Dr Slabbert said.

The new constitution, which would be ineffect in the next full session of parliament did not address itself to these problems.

One of the biggest challenges facing White South Africa was whether a seriously flawed constitution could be used not only to keep the White-Black constitutional debate alive, but also to bring about real socio-economic reform.

"We will have to do so at a time when our economy is caught in a serious recession, there is stark and ravaging hunger and poverty in our rural areas, and there is increased urbanisation of Blacks corresponding with increasing unemployment in our cities," he said.

"Under these circumstances, it is not only silly to be euphoric, it is very dangerous."

SATS PREPARES FOR MASSIVE MAIZE IMPORTS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 13 Apr 84 p 17

[Text]

THE South African Transport Services has devised comprehensive measures in South Africa and in conjunction with other countries in Southern Africa for the importing of 5½ million tons of maize through South African ports this year.

The Services' general director of harbours, Mr Dolf Jonker, said the network would transport 600 000 tons of maize for Zimbabwe, Botswana and possibly Swaziland as well.

The first ship, carrying a consignment of 30 000 tons of maize for Zimbabwe, will arrive at Port Elizabeth on Saturday, and the second, with a consignment of 25 000 tons for Zambia, is due on the 25th of this month. The maize is being imported from the United States.

The Transport Services

will be using special methods to handle the 5½ million tons of imported maize as the railways of South Africa's neighbouring states only have open trucks available.

Mr Jonker said 20 per cent of the maize destined for those countries would have to be put into bags. For that purpose, three packing machines would be sent from Durban to Port Elizabeth.

He said it had been decided to use Port Elizabeth as the maize import harbour to reduce the pressure on Durban and East London harbours and to prevent the maize trains from being delayed.

The operation of the trains would run smoothly as Zambian copper exports would be transported to Port Elizabeth in the same trains that would return with the maize, he said.

CSO: 3400/839

BLACK LEADERS CALL FOR END OF BAN ON ANC, PAC

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 10 Apr 84 p 2

[Article by Sam Mabe]

[Text]

BLACK leaders have called for the unbanning of the ANC and the PAC, which yesterday completed exactly 24 years as illegal political organisations in South Africa.

The two organisations were banned in April 8, 1960, during mass demonstrations which had spread throughout the country, following the shooting of 69 people at Sharpeville on March 21 when the PAC launched a national anti-pass campaign.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SACC, said the banning of the two did not deter the struggle or stop the wheels of liberation from turning. Instead, the ANC gained enormously in prestige and support in the black community.

He said the Government was as responsible for the violence as those who have perpetrated it since their organisations were banned and they felt that they had no other alternative to bring about change in

South Africa.

"If you speak to Machel then surely you can speak to our authentic leaders to resolve the internal political situation which is manifesting itself on the country's borders in the form of violence," Bishop Tutu said.

He also called for the release of Nelson Mandela, who, he said, symbolised all political prisoners in South Africa because his continued imprisonment made it more difficult for a peaceful solution to be reached in South Africa.

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, said the banning of the ANC and the PAC was the most foolish thing to have been done by the Government because it has not gained anything from the ban.

The belief that banning any political organisation would remove debates on the obvious oppressive measures from the public eye, was shortsighted. There was

no way that dissent could be silenced by a banning order, he added.

Dr Motlana condemned President Samora Machel for saying the ANC should now change from being a guerilla movement to a civil rights movement.

"But what was the ANC before it got banned? It was a civil rights kind of movement which called for boycotts, work stoppages, petitioning the Government and some such things. It was the foolish banning by the Government which turned it into a guerilla movement.

"One can only hope that the Government will regain its senses and allow free political organisations because at the moment people are afraid of forming progressive organisations because the Government tends to associate any political group with either of the two banned movements," said Dr Motlana.

BLACK COURTS CALLED 'SYMBOLS OF OPPRESSION'

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 13 Apr 84 p 4

[Text]

COMMISSIONERS' Courts had become "symbols of discrimination and oppression" and were "hopelessly compromised" by Government policy, Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) said yesterday.

It was for these reasons, she said during debate on the Hoexter report, that she agreed with the commission's recommendation that these courts have their work amalgamated with the other courts, which fall under the Department of Justice.

In his report, Mrs Suzman said, Mr Justice G G Hoexter had said it was "monstrous and untenable" that Commissioners in the Black courts, acting as judicial officers, actually carried out the administrative work that implemented Government policy.

She added that because Government policy was synonymous with apartheid these Commissioners were hopelessly compromised even before they started their duties.

These courts had become symbols of oppression and discrimination, especially in the urban centres where they heard "so many thousands of pass law cases."

Mr Rex le Roux (NP Pretoria West) said the time had come to reconsider the necessity of the Commissioners' Courts. As Blacks became more educated and urbanised and earned better salaries, so they needed a more comprehensive legal system.

However, this did not mean that Black law must be abolished. Blacks should and would still have the opportunity to practise their own law in the national states and the homelands.

The actions of the Official Opposition "more often than not" led to the undermining of respect for the courts, Dr Helgaard van Rensburg (NP Mossel Bay) said.

"The PFP are the last people who should talk of justice," he added.

On the PFP call for unrestricted time for the debate, the NP member said Mr Dalling was trying to create the impression that a crisis existed and that it could only be solved by drastic and urgent action. "Nothing could be further from the truth," he said.

Dr Louis Theunissen (CP elected by Members) said that if the Family Courts recommended by the commission were established they should be constituted along ethnic lines.

He asked Members not to do injustice to the report by making "irresponsible" statements during the debate.

The report should also not be seen as an opportunity for a "witch hunt" in legal circles and among Government departments.

The commission's recommendations were in many respects only guidelines for parliament to act on, Dr Theunissen added.

Mr Pat Rogers (NRP King William's Town) said the National Party and the Government "cannot run away from the contents of this report."

But what had happened to the administration of justice in South Africa had taken place over a long period of Nationalist government, and it was not quite fair of the PFP to blame the Minister entirely.

He wondered, however, if the blame for the situation in South African justice could be placed entirely on maladministration.

"Surely there should have been a constant flow of constructive criticism from within the legal fraternity itself?"

"There has been, but the Minister just hasn't listened," interjected Mr Brian Bamford (PFP Groote Schuur).

BRIEFS

WAR EXERCISES OFF CAPE--A SEVEN-vessel task force, comprising five missile-carrying strike craft, a frigate and a submarine, carried out day-long exercises off the Cape Peninsula coast yesterday. The exercise, which involved a large number of new Minister strike craft, was also the largest naval task force to gather in Cape waters since the days of Anglo-South African naval co-operation. The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan; the chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen; and the Chief of the Navy, Vice-Admiral Dries Putter were present. The eight-hour exercise started at the Simonstown naval base and finished in Table Bay harbour. It was also attended by the PFP Spokesman on Defence, Mr Phillip Myburgh, and the leader of the NRP, Mr Vause Raw. The SA Navy's flagship, the SAS President Pretorius, the submarine, Johanna van der Merwe and the strike craft flotilla of SAS Jim Fouche, SAS Frans Erasmus, SAS Oswald Pirow, SAS Hendrik Mentz and SAS Kobie Coetsee took part in the exercise. A Shackleton dropped depth charges. Other manoeuvres for the day included a long-range gunnery exercise with anti-aircraft and surface targets and President Pretorius tested its anti-submarine warfare detection equipment and defences. [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 1 Apr 84 p 9]

FEW COLOURED, INDIANS REGISTER--FEWER than 6 000 Coloureds and Indians had registered as voters in the first two months of this year, but more than 11 000 applications for registration were being processed, according to figures given during question time yesterday by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk. Answering Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP, Green Point), Mr De Klerk said 3 621 Coloureds and 2 068 Indians had been registered as voters between January 1 and February 29. He added that a further 10 716 Coloured and 1 093 Indian applications received by his department during March were being processed. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 12 Apr 84 p 4]

UK FIRMS IN SA--LONDON--British companies have made continued progress in meeting the European code of conduct for firms with interests in South Africa, British Trade Minister Paul Channon said in a written Parliamentary reply. Voluntary reports submitted by 181 companies for the year ended last June 30 showed a marked shift towards recognition of the rights of Black workers to become members of unions of their own choice, the Trade and Industry Department said. Companies have also continued progress to eliminate racial segregation among their employees, with 25 percent now reporting complete desegregation. The department said that 129 of the 142 medium to large companies

with majority stakes in South African firms that provided reports now accept the principle of equal pay for equal work, compared with 108 last year. Progress has also been made in the area of fringe benefits for Blacks. However, the data showed a slight fall in the proportion of Black workers receiving higher pay than that recommended by the code of conduct--98.7 percent versus 99 percent last year. This occurred against a background of recession, exacerbated by severe drought, and high inflation, the department said. [Text] [Continued] THE CITIZEN in English 12 Apr 84 p 2]

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EFFECT OF AUSTERITY MEASURES ON PEOPLE

Paris LE MONDE in French 7 Apr 84 p 4

[Article by Jean-Claude Pomonti: "The Population Has Accepted Serious Sacrifices To Try To Overcome the Economic Crisis"]

[Text] There is a rather uncommon "institution" in Lome, a sort of brigade of citizens who, after nightfall when people have returned home, wander through the streets of their respective neighborhoods and give out local news--for example, they announce a death--or summon the inhabitants to clean the roads together. The system seems to function well. Togo's capital, which has the air of a large African city spread along the seashore, stands out because of its cleanliness.

General Eyadema knows how to make people obey him. In this tiny ribbon-shaped country which has 2.5 million inhabitants on its 56,000 km², political discussion seems non-existent today. The "national melting pot," the RPT (Rally of the Togolese People), inevitably the only party, is not satisfied with organizing people's demonstrations for a national holiday or for the arrival of a distinguished guest. It carefully controls a population which, since the party was created in 1969, has lived in step with the slogans of one of the most stable regimes on the African continent until now.

Bridging the Gap

For Gnassingbe Eyadema this is not too much of an advantage at a time when his government is confronted with a serious economic crisis. He must deal with an unfavorable international economic situation, with the consequences of the drought which has affected the entire region and also with the effects of management errors made a decade ago, when the phosphate boom--the most important export--encouraged Lome to make investments which since then have turned out to be not very profitable and sometimes even catastrophic.

The Togolese foreign debt is today estimated to be \$1 billion. In other words, it equals \$357 per inhabitant in a country where per capita annual income is about \$380. The ratio of this debt is over one-third, which means that Togo must theoretically assign to reimbursements a percentage equal to its export receipts, which for the most part come from sales of phosphate, cocoa, coffee and cotton.

For 2 years the government has met the challenge. For the most part the severe measures imposed by the IMF have been applied. Salaries and recruiting in the civil service have been frozen. The some 45,000 civil servants and employees of state firms pay a "solidarity" tax that is withheld from their pay and which corresponds to 5 percent of their salary. The 1983 austerity budget (75.8 billion CFA francs in expenditures) was practically the same this year (76.7 billion CFA francs, according to estimates). Because of this, Togo, which was put in the "poorhouse" last year--classified as a least developed country--has obtained from its creditors in the Club of Paris a second rescheduling of its debt. (The first was in 1981.)

For the moment, the bet has been accepted. Lome fulfilled its contract in 1983 by reimbursing 32 billion CFA francs. The drop in employees' purchasing power--often quite sudden--has not caused intolerable social pressures. Even in Lome, which has between 300,000 and 400,000 inhabitants, there has not been a noticeable rise in crime. However, the country continues to feel the effects of a drought which affects all agricultural production and feeding the coastal region, the only really urban area, has caused problems.

"We're off to a good start" is the general feeling in Lome regarding the results of the beginning of this economic and financial reorganization. But Togo has not yet seen the end of its troubles. The service of the foreign debt will remain high for several years. In the shorter term, according to a study of the FAO, between 20,000 and 25,000 tons of grain must be imported to bridge the gap, which will last until April 1984. The drought may have had some 2,000 victims. Lome has already ordered 12,000 tons of grain from the United States, Canada and France.

Some large projects, which were not deemed overly ambitious when they were begun a decade ago, have been dropped. The refinery no longer operates because Nigeria has not kept its commitment to supply light crude. The steel plant met a similar fate because, in the current economic situation, mining an inland iron ore deposit would not be profitable. Perhaps because they had counted on more development in the area of tourism and, more probably, on the transfer to Lome of the general secretariat of the Organization of African Unity, the Togolese also built a hotel complex in their capital. Most of these hotels are not losing money, but the largest of them, the "Second of February," which cost a mere trifle of 37 billion CFA francs (or the equivalent of half of the current state budget) needs customers so badly that it costs the state, on average, 20 to 30 million CFA francs per month.

"A Break Is Possible"

Current projects are perhaps less grandiose, but their advantage lies in offering a more balanced development plan for a country with limited resources. For example, the EEC, the United States and France are involved in financing a well drilling program--1,000 are planned--with hydraulic pumps. A concurrent operation to improve the environment is being conducted. As another example, a financing program for cotton production also includes developing food crops, so that the cotton farmers will be self-sufficient in food. Emphasis today has been placed on this type of "integrated project."

The Togolese seem to have accepted serious sacrifices to overcome the crisis, but it seems to be time to drop a little ballast. With the agreement of the IMF, the civil service will undoubtedly recruit, in 1984, from 1,000 to 1,500 civil servants, if only to give a little hope to the many young graduates who are unemployed. Salaries, too, cannot remain eternally frozen. The current austerity has not caused social problems, but this lack of reaction to such a significant drop in purchasing power nonetheless hides something disconcerting and there is surely a limit beyond which, according to the saying of one French expert, "if you pull on the rope long enough it is bound to break."

In the long term, the Togolese government seems doomed to find a way to make room for unemployed mid-level professionals, regardless of their degree of qualification, so that their resentment does not become politicized. For the immediate future political problems have been relegated to the background. General Eyadema, who has very good relations with Paris, has succeeded in isolating--sometimes by using strong-arm tactics--supporters of his predecessor, Sylvanus Olympio, "coastals" whose leaders are in exile in France.

More recently (last November), the administration began to be on its guard against what could be another current of opposition accused of wanting "to destabilize" the country in the name of a "red revolution" fomented by a never named "foreign power." It is probably Libya, suspected of wanting to recruit agents in Togo. Libya's presence in Togo consists of one functioning bank and two unprofitable development projects (a fishing company and a chicken breeding endeavor). But in this particular case General Eyadema's regime probably wanted to demonstrate its firmness without waiting for the incident that would have caused an open crisis with Tripoli.

The line currently chosen by General Eyadema seems to be to have ambitions on a level with his resources. This means that Togo, wrung dry after the failure of some large-scale plans, is today trying to weather a crisis that it does not control and that, in the future, it will above all try to be self-sufficient since the state of its current resources does not allow it to have any greater ambitions.

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